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THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS:

I. The Early History.

II. The Protected Malay States.

III. The Mekong Treaty and the Malay Peninsula.

BY

W. A. PICKERING, C.M.G.

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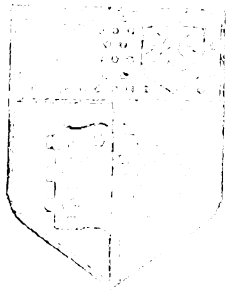

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THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.— I. EARLY HISTORY.

By W. A. Pickering, C.M.G.

Introduction.

At a time when all classes are complaining of a declining trade owing to foreign competition, and the lack of new markets for the sale of our products and manufactures; and when there is a danger that we may be elbowed out of our hardly-earned commercial position in the Far East, by nations which have only entered the field at the eleventh hour, I cannot help thinking that a narrative of what the British Government can accomplish by an enterprising policy carried out by able, and conscientious officials, may be of some interest to the Public.

The marvellous results which have already been gained in the Malay Peninsula, are primarily owing alike to the bold and conciliatory policy, inaugurated by Sir Andrew Clarke in January 1874.* This policy, continued and developed by a succession of able Governors of the Straits Settlements, and British Residents in the various Native States, has changed Perak, Salengor, and Sungei Ujong, especially, from being wastes of jungle and swamp, sparsely

* For the Chaos of 20 years ago, we find that the revenue of *one* state—Perak—equals that of the Straits Settlements, and that the States have their Railway, Telegraph, Educational and other Departments, with churches, chapels, clubs, educational Institutes, theatres, *etc.* Though much is due to Governors like Sir F. Weld and Sir C. Smith, and to Residents like Sir Hugh Low, Mr. Maxwell and above all, Mr. Swettenham, it must be remembered that Sir A. Clarke first took the bull by the horns and got a Conservative Government to sanction his action which has, with God's blessing, brought about the present peace and prosperity, in place of the former bloodshed, oppression and anarchy. There is no doubt, too, that, in this case, the permanent Staff of the Colonial Office have, from the first, done much towards assisting in the good work by keeping the Native States outside of the Crown Colony system, and by allowing our Governors and Residents to do the real work, even while they let the Native Sultans and Rajahs think that they were themselves governing their respective States, and by giving them due honour in the face of the real people,—the Chinese.

I think that the time has come for a Confederation, and I trust Mr. Swettenham will be enabled to inaugurate the new scheme and be succeeded by a list of able, conscientious, firm and just officials.

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inhabited by Malay pirates and turbulent Chinese, into peaceful habitations of flourishing merchants and labourers, the produce of whose enterprise or labour greatly adds to the value of British Commerce and also provides a revenue equal to that of our Colony, the Straits Settlements. In connection with this prosperity I must mention Mr. F. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., who, since 1874, whether as pioneer in exploration, or Resident in Perak and Salengor, has indefatigably devoted himself to the amelioration of the different races under his charge, and to the upholding of British prestige in the Straits of Malacca.

Situated on the East side of that great and silent highway of the European trade to China and the far East known as the Strait of Malacca, the Malay Peninsula stretches from the borders of Siam in Lat. 7° 30′ N. to within a few miles of the line; its southern extremity is separated by a narrow Strait from our Settlement of Singapore. The Peninsula is composed of several independent or semi-independent States, governed by Sultans or petty Rajahs. The countries on the West Coast only will be dealt with in the following remarks, as being at present more particularly identified with British interests; those on the East Coast are under the protection of Siam,* and soon, the advance of French influence in the East will oblige us to take all these States under our protection. Though Siamese influence has generally had beneficial effect, European civilization alone can do justice to the great natural resources of these countries and with an enlightened and firm Government they would, instead of being as at present comparative wastes of unknown jungle, develop rapidly, for the sustenance of a large population. Already the attention of several European explorers has been engaged with regard to the rich mineral treasures existing in Pahang, Kalantan and Tringano. On the West Coast, the maritime States of Kedah, Perak, Salengor,

* Since 1883 Pahang has been placed under direct British Protection with a Resident.

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Sungei Ujong and Johore, together with a confederation of small inland territories called the Negri Sambilang or Nine Countries (which formed part of the ancient Empire of Malacca) have, (owing to our gradual acquisition of the Colony now known as the Straits Settlements), for the last hundred years, been more or less politically connected with the British Government.

In the year 1786 Pulo Penang, officially known as Prince of Wales Island, was ceded by the then Rajah of Keddah to Capt. Light, an officer of H.E.I. Co.'s service, and but a few years elapsed before,—as has so often been the case in the history of British Colonial enterprise,—it was found necessary, for the protection of our increasing interests, to induce the further cession of a strip of land (now called Province Wellesley) on the opposite mainland of Keddah—then a mountainous jungle and mangrove swamp, the haunt of the tiger, alligator, and the more cruel Malay pirate, but now richly cultivated with sugar, spices and other products, with a contented and prosperous population of some 200,000 Malays and Chinese.

These acquisitions gave us our first footing in the Peninsula, and necessarily involved us in the affairs of the neighbouring States of Keddah and Perak. Having captured Malacca from the Dutch in 1795 the British held possession of the Port and territory till 1818—when it was returned to Holland, but ceded to us by treaty in 1824. By this cession, while we gave up all claim to interference in Sumatra and the rest of the Malay Archipelago, we were brought into contact with Salengor, Sungei Ujong, and also with Rambau and the other states of the Negri Sambilang.

In 1819 Sir Stamford Raffles fixed on the small Island of Singapore, as a suitable spot on which to form an emporium for British trade, and a centre from which we could exercise a beneficial influence on the Malay States of the Peninsula. Johore, to which State the Island belonged, though reduced to an insignificant condition at the

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time of cession, formerly enjoyed supremacy over all the neighbouring Malay Chiefs, and Singapore was the seat of Empire. In 1819 however, the Island was covered with jungle and deserted, except by a few pirates and fishermen. The magic of British influence was soon apparent; the enterprising Chinese, and Bugis traders from all parts of the Archipelago, resorted to a place free from the illiberal restrictions of the Dutch, and in 1827, the Exports and Imports amounted to Rs. 27,502,855 or say at a low estimate, £2,500,000. In 1881—the year of the last census of which we have statistics,—the population of Singapore was 140,000; and the total trade then was £39,885,945; in 1893 this total had reached £46,486,145. These results have been achieved by the enterprise of British and Chinese merchants, and the prestige of our Flag. There has been no grasping conquest; each Settlement has either been purchased, or acquired by Treaty in exchange for undoubted rights in other parts of the Archipelago.

Though at the end of the great war with France we were in possession of the whole of the enormous Netherlands Indian Empire, we with unparalleled generosity surrendered to Holland her former possessions; contenting ourselves with Penang, Malacca, and the small Island of Singapore, as stations for the protection of our route to China and for the security of British interests, political and commercial, on the Eastern side of Bengal.—Although we injured our interests and those of the natives, by giving up the Archipelago from Sumatra to New Guinea to the Dutch, besides ultimately providing a weapon for Germany or France with which to cripple our trade,—the influence of Britain has never been more astonishingly manifested than in the present prosperous condition of the Straits Settlements. British liberality and justice have attracted to the Straits Settlements a heterogeneous population of some 350,000 Asiatics, turbulent Chinese, and natives of every country in Asia and the Indian Islands, who by their

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industry have assisted to develop a trade, which amounts in value to nearly a quarter of the whole Home, Colonial, and Foreign trade of Holland. Indeed, a great part of this trade is from the Dutch Islands; the opening of free Ports and the introduction of more liberal measures by the Netherlands Indian Govt. have never been able to attract the natives from their preference to our rule and commercial system. It is also worthy of note, that of the Three Settlements Malacca, containing the largest geographical area and internal resources, having suffered from the stunting influence of a long occupation by the Portuguese and the Dutch, is the only Settlement which lags behind in the march of prosperity.

It was hoped by Sir Stamford Raffles when establishing the Settlement at Singapore, that our influence in the Malay Peninsula would in some degree compensate for the surrender of our great opportunities in Java and other Islands in the Pacific. In the paper I now quote, he says,

"The whole of the population at least on the Malay Peninsula have imbibed a taste for Indian and European manufactures, and the demand is only limited by their means. Artificial impediments may for a time check their means; but in countries where, independent of the cultivation, the treasures of the mines seem inexhaustible, and the raw produce of its forests has in all ages been in equal demand, it is not easy to fix limits to the extension of these means."

The mineral and other resources of the Peninsula can scarcely be exaggerated, but the Western Coast is especially favoured by nature. Sheltered by the range of mountains which runs down the centre, it is not subject to the strength of the North-East Monsoon which renders navigation difficult on the East Coast for six months of the year. Magnificent rivers, while furnishing water-carriage for their products, irrigate the fertile lands of all the States; the Coast is studded with Islands furnishing natural harbours, and the sea is almost perpetually calm, only ruffled by occasional squalls, or soft breezes which cool the air and render these regions perhaps more healthy than any tropical countries in the world. Gutta-percha, india-rubber, with various valuable gums, and kinds of timber, are found in the virgin forests; while minerals, especially Tin, abound

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to a wonderful degree. In Perak and Salengor, every stream literally is lined with tin-sand; the alluvial soil is rich in staniferous deposits, the matrix of which is found in the adjacent hills. In the valleys and lowlands, the soil is peculiarly adapted for the cultivation of rice, sugar, gambir and pepper; while the proper soil and temperature can be found in the ranges of low hills, suitable for Tea, Coffee, Tobacco and Cinchona.

With these great natural advantages, and with the short experience of Singapore's prosperity vouchsafed to Sir Stamford Raffles before his death, he no doubt expected from the Malayan Countries a near future of brilliant development. These anticipations for many years were not realised. After being borne on a wave of conquest to a successful peace in 1815, there came, as is common with England, a reactionary desire to avoid any further extension of responsibility.

From this period till 1867, (when the Straits Settlements were made a Crown Colony) the Indian Officials in charge, did from time to time make commercial treaties with the Rajahs of the Malay States, and officials made spasmodic visits to those countries in order to enquire into grievances; but every attempt to interfere actively was discouraged by both parties, though a shadowy suzerainty was acknowledged. Our Chinese subjects encouraged by the mineral riches, invested their capital, and exercised their usual energy; tin, gutta-percha and other products, contributed an inadequate share to the general prosperity of our Colony; yet in 1872 the condition of the Native States was faithfully described in a monster Petition presented by the Chinese merchants of the Straits to Sir Harry Ord the first Colonial Governor, at the expiration of his term of Government. After recounting the benefits of British rule, the Petition states:

"Nearly the whole of the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula from Malacca to Province Wellesley may be said to be in a state of anarchy, and anything like regular trade is entirely at an end. The result of this is, that the richest part of the Peninsula is in the hands of the turbulent; only in those States dependent in a manner on Siam,

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is order preserved; while—with the exception of Johore—those whose relations with Great Britain are confirmed by longstanding treaties, and who have hitherto been considered as subject to her influence and counsel, are conspicuous for the absence of that peace, progress and comparative prosperity, which characterises all countries and places recognising British rule, or inspired by British ideas."

In the despatch forwarding this Petition to the Secretary of State, Sir Harry Ord fully endorses the justice of the complaints made by the Petitioners; he says:

"In Quedah which adjoins Province Wellesley on the North, and is under Siamese control, peace and order are maintained and the country though by no means a rich one, is making steady progress; but when we pass to the South of Province Wellesley, the whole West Coast from thence to Malacca is as the petitioners remark, in such a state of anarchy and disturbance that all trade is at an end."

The State of Johore which extends from Singapore to the boundaries of Malacca, was with Keddah an exception to the general anarchy, as the Chinese in their Petition further remark:

"As an example of what the moral influence of Great Britain can effect in a Native State, we would point to the neighbouring territory of Johore, whose prosperous and peaceful condition is due, as well to the liberality and foresight of its present Ruler, as to the English influences which have of late years (especially, during Your Excellency's residence amongst us) been brought to bear upon the Maharajah's rule."

Sir Harry Ord had repeatedly brought the sad state of things to the notice of the Colonial Office, but "the Home Government, while desiring to maintain intimate relations with the Native States who are bound by treaty obligations to this country, and being most anxious that peace should be maintained throughout the Peninsula, so that commerce might be promoted, had hitherto made it their practice to abstain as far as possible, from interference in the internal affairs of those States." The Governor concluded therefore that, except an attack were made on our Settlements, the only course to be taken was abstention from Malay affairs, and in reply to the complaints of the Chamber of Commerce said that

"It is the policy of Government not to interfere in the affairs of these countries unless where it becomes necessary for the suppression of piracy or the punishment of aggression on our people or territories; and that if traders, prompted by the prospect of large gains, choose to run the risk of placing their persons and property in the jeopardy which they are aware attends them in these countries under present circumstances, it is impossible for Government to be answerable for their protection or that of their property."

This answer was approved by the Home Government, but affairs soon arrived at such a state, that all the condi-

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tions necessary for our interference in native affairs were brought into existence. The Chinese Petition arrived in England in August 1873; about that time Sir Andrew Clarke was appointed as successor to Sir Harry Ord and the reply to the Petition was accordingly addressed to him. In his Despatch the Secretary of State remarked

"The anarchy which prevails and appears to be increasing in parts of the Peninsula, and the consequent injury to trade and British interests generally, render it necessary to consider seriously whether any steps can be taken to improve their condition; Her Majesty's Government have, it need hardly be said, no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Malay States. But looking to the long and intimate connection between them and the British Settlements themselves, Her Majesty's Government find it incumbent upon them to employ such influence as they possess with the Native Princes, to rescue if possible these fertile and productive countries from the ruin which must befall them if the present disorders remain unchecked."

"I have to request that you will carefully ascertain as far as you are able the actual condition of affairs in each State, and that you will *report* to me, whether there are in your opinion any steps which can properly be taken by the Colonial Government to promote the restoration of peace and order, and to secure protection to trade and commerce with the Native territories."

Sir Andrew Clarke therefore left England for his new appointment, with instructions to merely enquire into and report upon the state of matters, but still bound by the restrictions as to active interference, which had been imposed on his predecessor. On his arrival in the Straits in November 1873, the new Governor however found that affairs had arrived at a state when enquiry was needless, and that the only hope for any amelioration, lay in taking immediate and energetic steps on his own responsibility. The long *laissez-faire* policy had accomplished its natural results—not only had it ruined the Native States but it had also involved our Settlements in disaster.

The principal seat of disturbance was Larut, a district of the Kingdom of Perak, bordering on our territory of Province Wellesley. Some time about the year 1850 a Malay trader named Long Jaffir who farmed the local taxes on rice cultivation from Sultan Jaffir of Perak, discovered Tin in Larut and having invited Chinese capitalists from Penang, these introduced their countrymen, who opened mines and through the wealth gained by the revenue on the tin produce, Long Jaffir was enabled to

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procure a grant for the district from the Sultan and was also appointed Mantri, one of the highest offices in the State. During Inchi Jaffir's life, the Chinese being few in number, do not seem to have caused much trouble; on his death, the grant was confirmed to his son Nga Ibrahim, who also succeeded to the office of Mantri; this was about the year 1862; but by this time the Chinese had greatly increased, and were divided into two rival factions, locally known as the Si-Kuans and the Go-Kuans. Each faction was supported by rich Chinese merchants in our Settlements, who advanced money for the mining operations, and having paid the revenue of one-tenth, to the Mantri, received the Tin, which gave them a handsome profit. To complicate matters more, each faction was united to a Chinese Secret Society in Penang; this added to commercial rivalry the bitterness of a political feud.

The Go-Kuans, though superior in having merchants of large capital on their side, were weak in their connection with the Hai-San Society, while the Si-Kuans whose financial supporters chiefly consisted of the Chinese artizans of Penang, were affiliated to the Ghi Hin Society, by far the most powerful in the Straits. The Mantri of Larut was soon a mere puppet in the hands of the Chinese, both parties of whom tried to get the monopoly of the mines. At first, Nga Ibrahim sided with the Go-Kuans, who attacking the other side, after a great slaughter, drove them out of the country.

Amongst the defeated Si-Kuans, were several British subjects; these made a claim against the Sultan of Perak for losses amounting to $17,447. Our Government without much knowledge of the case, blockaded the coast and demanded satisfaction for this claim. The Sultan submitted, and Nga Ibrahim having provided the money, received as a reward, almost independent powers over Larut.

For some time after this, peace was restored, and both parties of Chinese worked together and increased in num-

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bers, really governing themselves, and submitting to no other control than that of paying the duty on the Tin they exported from the country, to Penang.

At the close of 1871, the number of Chinese in Larut was estimated at 40,000 men, and the value of tin produced 1,276,518 dollars; that is to say the Mantri was receiving some 120,000 dollars, as his revenue; this enabled him to strengthen his position with the Government of Perak and to all intents and purposes,—excepting as far as ruling the Chinese—he was an independent Chief. By this time the Si-Kuans had become so powerful that the Mantri adapting himself to circumstances, allied himself to them, and for the consideration of an increased revenue, allowed them to attack the Go-Kuans, and with the usual slaughter drive them out of Larut, to seek refuge in our territories. These Go-Kuans however, being strongly supported by some of the richest Chinese merchants in Penang, and especially by those whose connection with the European merchants, gave them the ear of the European public, were little likely to submit to expulsion; accordingly, having purchased arms and chartered war-junks from China, they soon retaliated, and having defeated their enemies, took charge of the country and Mines; the Mantri with his usual policy, espousing their cause when victorious. About this time, the troubles were exaggerated by the death of Sultan Ali of Perak, and a disputed succession. The legitimate successor, or Rajah Muda Abdullah, having been by some intrigue, passed over, the Rajah Bandahara Ismail had been appointed Sultan. An appeal had been made to our Government which had received the usual reply, "that the Government would be glad to recognize the Sultan who had been elected by the universal choice of the country." Mantri Ibrahim having been confirmed in his Government of Larut, identified himself with the *de facto* Sultan Ismail and the Go-Kuans, with all material advantages on his side. The Si-Kuans on the other hand advocated,

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Abdullah and divine right. In May 1872 the Mantri held the mines, that is to say the Go-Kuans held the only working-mine in the country, but this was of very little advantage, as the Si-Kuans held the forts at the entrance of the Larut river, and several fortified positions near the coast. The last victory of the Go-Kuans had devastated the country; it was estimated that some 4,000 Si-Kuans had been slain, their women and children sold to the Malays or appropriated by the Mantri; hundreds of fugitives in forcing their way through the jungle to Province Wellesley had died, or been eaten by tigers, and 2,000 wounded were received into our Hospitals in Penang. In July 1872, Larut, which in 1871 had contained some 40,000 Chinese with towns and flourishing mines, was completely bare of all habitations, except the rival stockades, which contained some 8,000 fighting men.

The Ghi Hin Society in Penang, and the other Chinese who sympathised with the Si-Kuans, were of course much excited, and prepared for another struggle.

Besides the Si-Kuans, and Go-Kuans, who all came from the Canton Province, the coast of Larut was inhabited by fishermen from the Province of Hok-Kien, or Fuh-Kien, and these, while despising the Cantonese took the side of the Go-Kuans, because most of the Capitalists of that faction were Hok-Kiens. Another powerful race of Canton Chinese the Tay-Chews were engaged in cutting firewood on the numerous rivers and creeks of Larut and Perak, as all the fuel for domestic use in Penang and for the Sugar manufacturers of Province Wellesley is supplied from Perak and there is a great coasting trade in the article. The Hok-Kiens have the numerical superiority amongst the Chinese population of Penang, while the Tay-Chews preponderate in the Province, and the most influential man in the latter territory belonging to the Ghi Hins, his people all assisted the Si-Kuans. These combinations greatly increased the danger to the peace of our Colonies.

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The Mantri having identified himself with the *de facto* Sultan, who had been recognized by our Government, was allowed every privilege in the way of shipping arms, provisions, etc., to his adherents the Go-Kuans; while the Si-Kuans received no encouragement, and consequently were put to straits.

In Aug. 1872 news having come to Singapore that Penang was in danger from riots on account of the Larut disturbances, Sir Harry Ord went there with H. M. Ships "Thalia" and "Midge." At that time the Si-Kuans had built long fast rowing boats with 30 oars, and manned by 40-50 men; as they could not get provisions legally, they plundered the boats sent by the Mantri from Penang with provisions for his party; and being lawless Chinese, they soon turned their attention to all craft they met, and became audacious pirates. On Sir Harry Ord's arrival at Penang, of course the news quickly spread, and the piratical boats were hidden in the net-work of creeks on the coast, where they were secure from discovery. The "Thalia" and "Midge's" boats scoured the rivers, and visited the Si-Kuan forts at the mouth of the Larut river, where Capt. Grant of the "Midge" was most respectfully received — the head fighting-men anxiously enquiring when the British Government would put an end to the anarchy, and enforce a strong and impartial rule.

Indeed amongst all classes of Chinese, and Malays, the universal expression was—

"How can the English from Penang see this dreadful misery and slaughter, and yet not interfere, why does not the Government send some officers to arrange matters?"

Both parties of Chinese said—

"We could easily settle things by expelling the Malay Rulers, and then fight it out amongst ourselves, but the country is under British Protection, so if we rebel, they will punish us." "If only a bamboo with a British Flag were planted on Larut shore, we should be content, and would drop our quarrels and go to work at the mines sure of equal protection in our rights."

As it was the Go-Kuans fought for their own interests as partizans of the Sultan acknowledged by our Government, and the Si-Kuans were strong in the feeling that

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their interests were identified with the Sultan "*de jure*," whom they were sure the British would ultimately support.

The wishes with regard to our interference were well known to Sir Harry Ord, but with his instructions from home he could do nothing but acknowledge the Mantri who produced documents to prove that he and the Go-Kuans were the rightful owners of the Larut mines, and that the Si-Kuans (having served his purposes) were a set of pirates and vagabonds.

On this the Governor in Council, issued a proclamation permitting the Mantri and his Chinese to export arms powder, provisions, etc., and placing an embargo on every thing belonging to the Si-Kuans.

This soon brought on a crisis. During the presence of Sir Harry Ord and the men-of-war, for a few days, the Larut coast was freed from pirates, and the fishermen and wood-boats were able to carry on their traffic. The Governor returned to Singapore in the "Thalia" and it was announced in Council, that affairs had been settled. The "Thalia" and "Midge" were still kept on the look-out for the rowing-boats, and were even accompanied by the Mantri in his schooner, which flew his flag. Now the Rajah Mantri and the Go-Kuans had been recognised as the lawful party, and Capt. Speedy of Abysinian fame had been allowed to throw up his post as Supdt. of Police in Penang and to recruit some hundred Sikhs and Pathans in the Punjab, for service against the rebel Si-Kuans; these latter, by this time, had petitioned Government against the injustice they had received from the Malay Rajah; but had been told

"That the Government knew all about them, and that they neither deserve any help nor will get it."

There is no doubt, that at this time, the Chinese merchants who had advanced money to the Go-Kuan miners, made use of all the influence they had with the European Officials and merchants, and were determined by ruining the Si-Kuans, to get Larut entirely under their command.

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regardless of justice. The Si-Kuans, on their part, were determined not to give in; as they said:

"They were not fighting against the Governor, or British Government, but against the treacherous Mantri who had deceived the local Government of Penang, into recognising a party which was really illegitimate."

On Capt. Grant's visit to the Larut Forts, the Si-Kuan Chiefs told him that,

"They would not dare to oppose the British Government, but that if the Mantri appeared or the Go-Kuans, they would fight to the death."

Accordingly on the 13th Sep. while the men-of-war with their boats were off the Larut River, two Officers and some bluejackets approached the Stockades in the Mantri's Schooner with his flag flying, and the Si-Kuans opened fire wounding Sub-Lieuts. Lindsay and Cresswell. This drew on the Forts the whole strength of our force and of course the Chinese were soon beaten and with 4,000 men surrendered their position at the mouth of the River, and a stockade about 4 miles inland; these positions were handed over to the Mantri and Go-Kuans, who occupied them, thus leaving the Si-Kuans with two stockades, and enclosed between Capt. Speedy and his Sikhs inland, and the Mantri's force on the Coast. Hemmed in by their enemies, deprived of all chance of receiving provisions or ammunition from Penang, it was thought that the wretched Si-Kuans were completely defeated. This however proved far from being the case. Their rowing-boats drawing scarcely any water, could still find refuge in the innumerable creeks intersecting the mangrove swamps on the coast; and although the men in the stockades were driven to cut down all the cocoa-nut trees to satisfy their hunger, and to live on a precarious diet of the crown of the palms, with shell-fish collected in the swamps, they determined to resist to the last. In Penang their adherents revenged themselves on the Mantri's house in that Settlement, and there was every probability of disturbances arising between the rival Secret Societies. The row-boats now driven to desperation, sallied out and attacked every junk or coasting vessel they came across, plundering them of provisions and

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arms, and invariably killing the crews on the principle that "dead men tell no tales." They even attacked vessels in Penang Harbour, and threatened our Police Station in Province Wellesley. The commanders of our gunboats were obliged to confess themselves helpless, and had to stand by, and see trading junks attacked and their crews murdered, without being able to give any assistance. The firewood trade was at an end, and the Sugar manufacturers in Province Wellesley at a standstill for want of fuel. Large bands of Chinese were being recruited in our Province for service in Larut, and Penang was in a state of agitation.

On Sir A. Clarke's arrival at Penang on his way to Singapore such was the state of matters in Perak.

Salengor was the state which next to Perak, urgently demanded our interference.

This kingdom is divided from Perak by the Birnam River, and runs south to the River Lingi which separates it from our territory of Malacca.

Salengor from time immemorial, has been notorious as a haunt of pirates, the leaders of whom have generally been the petty Rajahs and relatives of the Sultans.

Mr. C. J. Irving, Auditor General, S. S., in a report on the Native States written in the beginning of 1874, says:

"The troubles of Perak are of a recent date, and of an exceptional character, and except at Larut where a large Chinese population has grown up, and outgrown the power of the Malay rulers, nothing seems necessary but a settlement of a very peculiar and exceptional question connected with the succession to the Sultanship to place Perak in the category of well-ordered States. But at Salengor misgovernment appears to have been the invariable rule for hundreds of years, from as long ago as anything is known of the country, from the time that the Bugis (people of Celebes) pirates who were the ancestors of the present dynasty first got possession of the country; and the consequence is, that the country is little better than a wilderness, while the scanty population is or was, miserably oppressed by a set of semi-savage Chiefs, who as long as they were in power, did not confine their misdeeds to those against their own subjects, but made their rivers, houses-of-call, for petty pirates, harboured our runaway convicts, and were in all respects the ill neighbours that such a set of men might be expected to be. Such was the state of Salengor when I first became acquainted with it, when I acted as Lieut.-Governor of Malacca in 1870, and from what I have seen and heard of the people, from the Sultan downwards, I can see not the slightest prospect of the country, in the event of its falling back into their hands, ever rising to any better condition.

About the year 1868, the present Sultan, gave his son-

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in-law Tunku-Udin, a brother of the Sultan of Keddah, power to act as Viceroy of Salengor with the hope that some order might be obtained, and that an increased revenue might accrue to him, from the valuable Tin mines of the country. These mines however met with little favour on the part of the Rajahs, and Tunku-Udin was thwarted and actively opposed by the Sultan's sons and relatives, notoriously, by a son Rajah Yacub, and two relatives Rajahs Mahdi and Mahmoud. These Chiefs in 1871, had the hardihood to fire on one of our men-of-war the "Rinaldo," which vessel went to inquire into some outrage committed by the Chiefs, on British subjects; this rashness however met with immediate punishment, which had but a very temporary effect. Chinese miners had in small numbers, worked the mines in the District of Salengor, Klang, and Tukut, with varying prosperity, and subject to much oppression on the part of the Malays. At Klang however, the seat of Tunku Udin's Govt., a considerable number say 7,000 Chinese (belonging to a District in Canton Province named Kwei Shin) had under their energetic Capitan or head-man Yap-ah-loi, succeeded in establishing a well-built town, and in producing a large quantity of Tin, which was sent to the merchants of Malacca and Singapore. Capitan Yap-ah-Loi had indeed made the District of Klang, and by his influence kept the Chinese under his authority faithful to the cause of law and order as represented by Tunku Udin, though the quarrels of the Salengor chiefs during some years put almost an end to all mining industry, the Chinese spared neither money nor men to strengthen the hands of the man from whom alone could be hoped, any peace or good government.

The Rajahs Yakub (alias Tunku Alang) Mahdi and Mahmoud, continued to oppose Tunku Udin, and to keep the country in a state of confusion; continual complaints were made by the Malacca traders as to obstacles placed in the way of commerce, and of petty piracies committed on the local coasters. In November 1873, a most atrocious

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case of piracy and murder took place at Langat in Salengor; a Malacca trading-boat was boarded by some of Tunku Alang's followers and having murdered all the crew, excepting one person, they plundered the boat's cargo. About the same time, Rajah Mahmoud's followers attacked the light-house at Cape Rachado and wounded some of the light keepers. This culminated a series of outrages, and called for immediate interference on our part.

In Sungei Ujong the next state South of Salengor, Malay anarchy was complicated by the existence of factions amongst the Chinese miners. The Datu Klana recognised ruler of the State, was accused of assisting Rajahs Mahdi and Mahmoud against Tunku Udin; besides this the country was in a state of war with Rambau, one of the Negri Sambilang as the river by which the Sungei Ujong Tin was transported to Malacca, passed through Rambau, and the Datu or Ruler of that State, in Malay fashion, had erected stockades, and forcibly levied illegal duties on all produce from Sungei Ujong. Several attempts on our part, had been made to arrange matters, but at the time of Sir A. Clarke's arrival in the Straits, nothing satisfactory had been arrived at, and the consequence was, that a lucrative Malacca trade was at a standstill.* The rest of the States of the Negri Sambilang were in the usual Malay condition of impotent disorder, but as they were inland countries, without any trade of importance, they need no mention in this paper.

On his arrival in the Straits, Sir A. Clarke found great difficulties in his way, because though there was a vast mass of paper and correspondence, as to Native State Affairs, these papers had never been collated, and being in the greatest confusion, were almost useless as a guide towards a prompt solution of the pressing questions involved.

The month of December 1873 was chiefly spent by the Governor in making himself as far as possible, master of

* Since 1883 a Resident has been stationed in the Negri Sambilang.—W. A. P.

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what had been the past condition not only of the contending Chinese factions but also the difficulties of the disputed Malay succession, and the contentions arising amongst the Native Chiefs of Perak. In the study necessary for this purpose, Sir A. Clarke was greatly assisted by the knowledge and experience of the Attorney Genl. Mr. Braddell, the Auditor Genl. Mr. C. J. Irving, who together with Major McNair R.A. Colonial Engineer and Mr. Skinner Clerk of Councils, prepared most valuable Reports on the Malay aspect of the question. With regard to the Chinese quarrels, Capt. Dunlop R.A. Inspr. Genl. of Police, and myself Chinese Interpreter to the Govt. were consulted.*

On the 1st of January 1874 Sir A. Clarke commenced his policy of pacification by sending me on a mission to Penang, empowering me to open negotiations with the Head men of the Chinese as if acting on my own responsibility, for the purpose of ascertaining if the Chiefs of the two parties could not be brought to some settlement of their disputes. On my arrival at Penang I found that both parties were not quite so favourable to a settlement as they had been in Sept. 1873. The Si-Kuans said that "if British interference meant impartiality either by making peace, or by leaving the Chinese to themselves, they wished for immediate interference; but that if as had been the case for the last few months, our Govt. intended to drive them out of the country, and in spite of all justice, make the Mantri an independent Ruler, and establish the Go-Kuans in Larut, then they would prefer to fight it out; they said that the Ghi Hins, if allowed fair play, would soon be able to drive Capt. Speedy, his Sikhs and the men with the Go-Kuans, out of the country. The Go-Kuans

* Mr. Pickering was up to that time the only European Officer ever in the service of the Straits Government, who could speak Chinese; by his knowledge of the character of the Chinese and their various dialects he had acquired great influence over all classes; besides this, having accompanied Sir H. Ord in the "Thalia" to Penang and Larut he had become intimately acquainted with the fighting Chiefs of the two factions Si-Kuans and Go Kuans, and with their adherents in the Secret Societies in Penang. Both parties had expressed to him the desire for peace and that the British Government would interfere with a strong hand to secure good order, and justice from the Malay Rulers.—*Editor* (See bluebook from which above passage is quoted).

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on the other hand, having now the Lieut. Govr., the Police, and the rich capitalists of Penang on their side, and the assistance of our men-of-war, were content to be allowed to take Larut to themselves, and on the strength of continued British favour, they had advanced and borrowed large sums of money for the purchase of breach-loading guns, rifles, ammunition, provisions, etc.

Against these objections I could only assure the Head men, that whatever the new Governor's policy might be, it would be perfectly just and impartial, with the sole view of restoring peace to the country, and the protection of all classes of Chinese in their lawful pursuits.

On these conditions the Si-Kuans laid all their affairs in my hands and promised to give up their row-boats, stockades, arms, and men, to Sir Andrew Clarke in seven days; stipulating of course, that Capt. Speedy and the Go-Kuans, should be obliged to suspend hostilities too. The Go-Kuans were obliged to submit, as they knew very well that had our Govt. been perfectly impartial, they could never have resisted the Si-Kuans and Ghi Hins.

On the 4th of Jany. I telegraphed to Singapore the result of my negotiations and received a reply that the terms were accepted by the Governor. About this time too, the Malay Chiefs of Perak had requested the Government to intervene in the settlement of their disputes, and that a Resident might be appointed to assist them, and advise them in the government of the country. On the receipt of the telegram from me Major McNair and Capt. Dunlop were sent in the chartered steamer "Johore," on a mission to Penang and Perak, to prepare for the surrender of the piratical boats and men, for the disarmament of the Chinese, and to call together all the Chiefs of Perak including the Mantri to meet Sir Andrew Clarke at Pulo Pangkor, one of the Dinding Islands off the Perak River, which some years before had been ceded to England.

The idea of the Si-Kuans voluntarily giving up their boats and fighting men to the British Government was

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much derided in Penang, but the sequel proved the sincerity of their desire to obtain peace, and to be able to carry on their mining and other business in Larut.

Mr. Swettenham, a talented Malay scholar of the Civil service of the Straits Settlements was sent to Perak to arrange with the Mantri, Capt. Speedy, and the Go-Kuans about an armistice, and to secure the attendance of the Malay Rajahs at Pulo Pangkor.

On the 13th January Sir Andrew Clarke with several of his Executive Council, arrived at Pulo Pangkor in the Colonial steamer "Pluto," where he remained till the 20th, during this period, the following settlements were arrived at, which gave to Larut peace between the Chinese factions, and a prospect of lasting good order, which though occasionally agitated by petty disturbances inseparable from a large population of Chinese, has never been seriously affected, up to the present moment.

On the 14th January the Chiefs of the Si-Kuans with their rowing-boats, men, and arms, appeared and surrendered themselves to Sir A. Clarke, on the sole condition that the cause of their troubles should be carefully enquired into; that the Malay Chiefs should be controlled in the Chinese part of Larut, by a British Official, who should be responsible for, and rule over the Chinese. The Go-Kuans headmen also came in, and agreed to a general disarmament, to give up their war-junks, and to raze their stockades, on the same conditions.

Both parties entered into a written bond of peace, and submitted all their claims to the arbitration of the British Government. A Commission consisting of Capt. Dunlop, Mr. Swettenham and myself was appointed to at once proceed to Larut, to demolish the Stockade Forts, disarm all the combatants, rescue the Si-Kuan women and children who had been sold to the Malays, and finally, to make a fair division of the mines between the two factions of Chinese.

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Captain Speedy was appointed with the consent of the Sultan and Mantri to act as Resident in Larut and to have control over the Chinese population. Both parties of Chinese complained bitterly that their quarrels had been chiefly caused by the rapacity, treachery and weakness of the Mantri, who for his own purposes, had set them against each other, and ultimately sold his country to the highest bidder.

II. THE PROTECTED MALAY STATES.

Sir Andrew Clarke having set in order the affairs of Larut, the Chiefs of Perak proceeded to arrange about the disputed succession of the Sultanate. Abdullah was elected as lawful Sultan of Perak, and it was agreed by the principal high officers of the State that Ismail should retain the honorary title of Sultan Muda, and, in addition to a pension, be allotted a part of the country as an appanage.

An engagement, since famous as the Pangkor treaty, was then entered into and signed between the British Government on the one side and Abdullah with certain Chiefs of Perak on the other, by which it was agreed that British officers should be appointed respectively as Resident and Assistant Resident in Perak, whose advice was to be taken and acted upon in all questions other than those touching on Malay customs and religion. Among other things it was arranged that the collection of all the revenues and the general administration of the country should be regulated under the advice of the Resident and Assistant Resident; and that the Sultan and high officers of the State should receive adequate allowances from the revenues of the State. This treaty having been signed,

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Sir A. Clarke escorted the newly-elected Sultan to his residence on the Perak River, and then returned in the "Pluto" to Singapore where he arrived on the 23rd January.

The Governor then immediately began to concert arrangements for the suppression of piracy and the restoration of order in the State of Salengor, in which work he was cordially assisted by Admiral Sir C. Shadwell who arrived in the Straits with the China squadron.

Nine Malays, supposed to have been concerned in the case of piracy and murder mentioned in my last article, had been recognised at Malacca by a survivor of the plundered boat's crew, and having been arrested, were awaiting trial by our Supreme Court, and one of them had turned Queen's evidence. There was some doubt as to the jurisdiction of our Courts in the matter, and Tunku-Udin, the Viceroy of Salengor had applied to the Straits' Government, for the extradition of the prisoners under the terms of our treaties with his country, and had also expressed his desire to make an example of the men if they were found guilty of the crime. Sir Andrew Clarke considered this a good opportunity for testing the sincerity of the Viceroy's repeated protestations that he wished to put down piracy, and he also thought that by complying with the request, he might induce the Sultan to carry out all the other conditions of our treaties. For these reasons the Governor determined to hand over the prisoners.

On the 6th February, Admiral Shadwell in the "Iron Duke," with H.M.S. "Thalia," "Salamis," "Rinaldo," "Avon," "Midge," and "Frolic," arrived off the Klang Straits on the coast of Salengor; and the Governor, taking with him the nine prisoners and two members of his Executive Council, Mr. Braddell, the Attorney General, and Major McNair, the Colonial Engineer, joined the fleet, in the "Pluto," at the rendezvous.

As the Viceroy for some time had not been able to visit his father-in-law, the Sultan, owing to an estrangement

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caused by intrigues in the royal household, Sir A. Clarke took the opportunity of this visit to bring the two rulers together again.

The Admiral, Governor and suite visited Langat, the residence of the Sultan, who, after some hesitancy, paid his respects by calling on board the "Pluto," where he was quickly reconciled to his son-in-law and expressed his willingness that the affairs of the country should remain in Tunku-Udin's hands. The Sultan proved to be a shrewd old Malay who was quite content to let things go on according to old customs, and seemed to look on the feuds, raids, and piracies of the young Rajahs as the natural escapades of spirited youths of good family; indeed, much in the same way as an old Highland Chief of the 17th century would have regarded a clan-fight or a foray into the Lowlands,—the natural adventures of "pretty men." After several interviews the old man seemed more and more to appreciate the motives of the Governor; and it was agreed by him and the Viceroy that the nine prisoners should be tried by a Court, consisting of Salengor Chiefs, with Tunku-Udin as President, while Major McNair and Mr. Davidson, a member of the Singapore bar and legal adviser to the Viceroy, acted as assessors on the part of the British Government. The Sultan promised to do all in his power to put down piracy, to restrain, or drive out the intriguing and turbulent Chiefs, Rajahs Mahdi and Mahmoud, and, indeed, to keep the peace in every possible way.

The Viceroy invited the Admiral to destroy the piratical stockades at the mouths of the rivers, after doing which the Governor and Admiral returned to Singapore, one or two men-of-war being left on the coast to patrol until the result of the trial should be ascertained and the promises made by the Sultan and his Viceroy fulfilled.

The trial of the pirates was conducted with the greatest fairness, and the prisoners had every opportunity for calling witnesses, etc.; they were all found guilty by their own

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countrymen. One was spared on account of his youth, and the others were executed near the scene of the crime, the Sultan giving his own *Kris* for the execution.

As there was no clear evidence as to the Sultan's son being an actual participator in the piracy though there was much cause for suspicion, he was warned by the Court and advised to avoid any liability to suspicion of lawless action in the future. $5,000 were paid as compensation to the relatives of the murdered boatmen and the boat was handed over to our Government. The effect of the execution was such that piracy ceased in Salengor from that date.

With the good advice of Mr. Davidson and the countenance of our Government, the Viceroy was enabled to restore order in the country, the Chinese flocked to the mines, and prosperity soon returned. Mr. Swettenham, who was appointed to reside temporarily with the Sultan, exercised such an influence over him that the old man, who had rather a reputation for parsimony, in a few months actually sent $1,000 to Singapore, asking that a British Resident might be permanently appointed to advise in the Government of his State, and promised to provide whatever money was necessary for his salary and expenses. The Sultan's request was granted and under the Residential system, Salengor has annually increased in peace and prosperity, till, at the present day, its revenues are equal to those of the Straits' Settlements.

There now remained the small State of Sungei Ujong, where, owing to intestine quarrels and disputes with Rambau and the Negri Sambilang, the Chinese miners had stopped working and taken sides with the Malay Chiefs who by their exactions and petty feuds had brought to a stand-still the lucrative trade with our settlement of Malacca.

Capt. Shaw, R.N., the Lieut. Governor of Malacca, had made many vain attempts to settle affairs, and Sir A. Clarke with H.M.S. "Charybdis," and "Avon," had, in

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May 1874, proceeded to the Lingi River, the trade route of the State, on which stockades had been erected, and all traffic stopped.

Satisfactory arrangements were made between the Datu or Chief of Rambau, and the Datu-Klana, recognised ruler of Sungei Ujong, who both agreed to come to Singapore to sign a treaty of amity; all stockades and barriers were destroyed, and boats containing $50,000 worth of tin for Malacca were released.

The Datu Klana was anxious to put his country under British protection and to receive a Resident; but his rival, the Datu Bandar, a kind of Mayor of the Palace and a stubborn old chief, without daring to oppose the Klana openly, created divisions amongst the Chinese miners, and also harboured the notorious Rajah Mahmoud who had fled from Salengor and whose very name was a tower of strength.

The Bandar was a most truculent man. He had spent his life in violence, piracy and oppression over the Chinese, and had amassed considerable wealth, which gave him a superiority over the weak Klana. Seeing plainly that, with a British Resident in the country, his occupation would be gone, the Bandar determined to prevent any settlement, while he pretended to concur with all the good advice tendered by the Governor.

In September the Klana hoisted the British flag, and proclaimed the country under our protection; but as the Bandar immediately threatened to attack him, he was obliged to pull the flag down and to apply for assistance and protection from Singapore.

On the 3rd October, I was sent up to Ampangan, the residence of the Klana, with an escort of 50 Malacca Police under Sergt. Kiernan, to advise the Datu, and also to present a letter to the Bandar asking him to meet Sir A. Clarke either at Kapayang, his own stockaded residence about 3 miles from Ampangan, or at Singapore. On my visiting the old man, he said plainly, after many subter-

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fuges, that he would allow no changes in the country, as he was quite contented with old customs and the "white sepoys" could not reach him. After I left him he, with the assistance of Rajah Mahmoud, some Rambau chiefs and their followers, fortified his place with a deep ditch and extra stockades and also strengthened other positions, taking from the Klana the Port of the country, Rassa. The Klana again hoisted our flag, called together his Chiefs and retainers, and with his body-guard of 50 Arabs and Somalis, prepared to enforce his authority. The party was wonderfully armed, with rifles, fowling pieces, and flint-guns. Some of the Malays charged their guns with pieces of silver for Rajah Mahmoud, as that hero was supposed to be invulnerable by baser metal. One Malay Chief was in chain armour, and several of the Arabs had cross-hilted two-handed swords. Two beautiful brass pieces lately arrived from Germany were the source of much courage to our party. On the approach of the Klana, Rassa and one or two other places were at once evacuated. The Bandar was then invited to a parley, but returned an insulting reply, on which the Klana decided to attack Kapayang in force. With Sergt. Kiernan and the Police, I accompanied the Klana to see that no cruelty was exercised towards the old Bandar or his women.

On our arrival within half a mile of Kapayang, the sight of the mangled corpse of the Klana's scout checked the ardour of the Chiefs and their retainers,—so much so, that half of them decamped. When in sight of the Bandar's house, the attacking party was saluted with such a smart volley from rifles, *lelahs* and cannon, that they began to turn back, and on some one raising the cry "Rajah Mahmoud is coming," the Malays fled; and, to our disgust, even the Malay part of the Malacca Police shed their uniform, threw away their Snider rifles and disappeared in the jungle. The poor Klana was left to his Arabs, Sergt. Kiernan and myself. We tried for 3 hours to do what the Malays had refused to attempt; but as we had

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no cover, and could not get near the stockade, owing to the swampy paddy fields, we had to retreat with the loss of one brass gun, and retired to Ampangan, a ruined party. By the next day every adherent of the Klana, except his nearest relatives, had abandoned his cause; Rassa and all other strongholds were taken by the Bandar; and we, with the Klana and his Arabs, were hemmed in by his and Rajah Mahmoud's party. With the greatest difficulty, on the 19th November, I managed to get a letter taken to Malacca, reporting our position to Captain Shaw. Sergeant Kiernan and I were in a critical position; and besides this it took all my powers of persuasion to prevent the Chinese from mixing in the quarrel, as the Bandar's party were anxious to attack the mines belonging to the Klana's Chinese.

After some days' detention in the Klana's stockade on short commons, the Arabs agreed with Sergt. Kiernan, the few Tamil Police we had, and myself, to resume the offensive and get a little more freedom. These Arabs were most unmitigated scoundrels from Aden, Lahej, the Somali coast, and other parts of the Red Sea littoral, but they turned out to be capital fighting-men; in a few days we had stormed every stockade and position but Kapayang, and had recovered our own gun, and taken 35 of the enemy's brass and iron guns,—with a loss of one killed and a few wounded. The Chinese now furnished us with provisions, and the Klana issued orders that all men should prove their loyalty by wearing a yellow band on their arm; and soon, the whole district was conspicuous for its signs of zeal for the winning cause and the British Protectorate. Capt. Shaw, on receipt of my letter, forwarded it to the Governor and sent up a detachment of the 10th under Lieut. Peyton to my relief, *viâ* the Lingi River. Sir A. Clarke received the news on the 23rd Nov. and at once leaving Singapore with H.M.S. "Charybdis" and "Hart," landed a force of 140 men,—blue-jacket, infantry and artillery, under Lieut. Brook, R.N., Capt. Tatham, R.A.,

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and Lieut. Palmer of the 10th Regt., accompanied by Capt. Dunlop, R.A., Inspector Genl. of Police, S.S., as Civil Commissioner. The force landed at the mouth of the Lukut River in Salengor, the nearest spot on the coast to Ampangan; and when, after an arduous march through swamp and jungle, it arrived at the Klana's place, on the 28th,—Capt. Shaw's relief having reached there 2 days before—it found that the Klana had regained his proper position, that we were safe, and that the Bandar and Rajah Mahmoud were confined to Kapayang. A few hours after their arrival, Capt. Dunlop with some blue-jackets and men of the 10th made a reconnaisance of Kapayang, which drew on them the fire of the stockade; whereupon the whole force, with its rocket-tubes, was brought into action; but the Malays kept up a very brisk fire; our rockets had no effect on the houses in the stockade; and night coming on, we had to retire with the loss of one blue-jacket, mortally wounded by a rifle-bullet.

The next day every preparation was made for a regular attack: but we found that Kapayang had been evacuated during the night and that the Bandar, Rajah Mahmoud and their men had fled to the jungle. Small parties of our soldiers and sailors followed them up in various directions without success; but this marching to and fro had a good effect in showing the Malays that the jungle was no hindrance to European troops.

On the Bandar's flight the Klana's Chinese miners attacked their countrymen belonging to his party and some lives were lost and property destroyed. Capt. Dunlop and I were obliged to adopt very summary measures towards the Chinese and to disarm the whole population. Peace was soon restored and no further disturbance has since taken place.

On the 15th Dec., all stockades in the country having been destroyed, the Malays and Chinese disarmed and internal affairs arranged, the troops and blue-jackets returned to the coast, and Capt. Dunlop and I were able

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to resume our duties in Singapore, leaving Capt. Tatham as temporary Resident with the Klana. On embarking at Malacca in the local steamer for Singapore, we were surprised to find Mr. Swettenham with the Datu Bandar and Rajah Mahmoud! They had taken refuge with the Sultan of Salengor but he had at once handed them over to Mr. Swettenham, who induced them to go to Singapore and surrender themselves to Sir A. Clarke, submitting to his decision as to their future. The old Bandar consented to receive a pension and reside at Johore, where he died of old age some years after. Rajah Mahmoud after a short stay in Johore, was enabled to do us much service during the Perak war, when his loyalty and usefulness were rewarded by a sword of honour; he returned to his country of Salengor, and, as far as I know, he is living quietly there, devoting himself to the improvement of his estates.

Sungei Ujong, though its tin mines are of comparatively small value, has made steady progress in agriculture; Europeans have succeeded in establishing coffee and other plantations; and this, after all, must be the ultimate permanent source of prosperity for the Malay Peninsula. I may mention that the success attained in the three States was greatly facilitated by the cordial co-operation which Sir A. Clarke always received from the naval and military branches of H.M.'s Service. On the 2nd of March, 1874, he was able to report to the Secretary of State that the Commissioners had returned from Larut, having rescued 53 women from slavery, disarmed the belligerents, razed all stockades and settled the mines; also that immigration and capital were flowing into the country. During the year, the Colonial Secretary, S.S., Mr. J. W. Birch, a most able officer with a long and brilliant record of service in Ceylon, was appointed Resident at Perak, Mr. Davidson at Salengor, and Capt. Murray, R.N., at Sungei Ujong.

In May, 1875, Sir A. Clarke, unfortunately for the complete success of his policy, left the Straits for the appoint-

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ment of Minister of Public Works in India, and was succeeded by Sir W. D. Jervoise, who had the disadvantage of being obliged to take over the most delicate task of carrying out a new policy; one which he had not inaugurated, and which required some experience of the circumstances under which it had been introduced. In November, 1875, the assassination of Mr. Birch caused a great shock; and the revolt of the Perak Chiefs led weak friends, and opponents of the Residential policy, to believe that the new system was a failure; but fortunately Sir W. Jervoise had, by this time, fully grasped the whole situation and was convinced that there was no alternative for the interests of the Peninsula or our Colony between annexation and a complete development of his predecessor's policy. "There can be no doubt that the loss of Mr. Birch's valuable life was a gain to Perak, and to the whole of the Peninsula as the considerable military expedition which followed and the temporary occupation of the State by our troops, did more to secure permanent tranquillity than fifteen years of advice by British Residents without it."* Sir W. Jervoise was enabled to put everything again in working order by the middle of 1876; and since then the most uninterrupted prosperity has followed.

At the date of signing the Pangkor treaty, the revenues of the three States were nominal, as the only prolific source of taxes, the Chinese and the Tin they produced, had been cut off. Perak, for instance, produced an annual revenue of $80,000, squeezed from the most insignificant articles of daily use amongst the Malays,—saucers, cups, tobacco, salt and rice; and the *rayats*, with their property, lives, and the honour of their wives and children, were absolutely at the mercy of any sorning petty rajah or scion of royalty. Debt-slavery was universal, and no Malay felt secure in leaving his house without an armoury of spears and daggers. The same conditions existed in the other States, and exist now in that part of the Peninsula outside of our

* "About Perak," by F. A. Swettenham, C.M.G.

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influence. Now, in the Protected States, all vexatious impositions are removed, debt-slavery has been abolished, and arms are difficult to be procured as curios.

The rayat may now cultivate their padi, fish in the river, or sit under their betel-nut palm and banana tree, without fear of any one. The following are the statistics of Revenue and Trade for 1894:

	Revenue.	Imports and Exports.
Perak	$3,542,114	$26,447,232
Salengor	$3,334,468	$25,065,288
Sungei Ujong	$397,130	$4,242,730
	$7,273,712	$55,755,250
Straits Settlements	$3,904,774	$410,937,356
	$11,178,486	$466,692,606

Since 1886, the Negri Sambilang and Pahang have come under the Residential system, and in to-day's "*Times*" (Feb. 7th) I see that all the five States "have formed," a confederation under a Resident General, Mr. Swettenham, C.M.G.

I must express the opinion, that it seems a pity that advantage has not been taken of the death of the late ruler of Johore, to include that State in the Confederation. The fascinating and genial manners of the deceased Sultan, which endeared him to all who had the privilege of his acquaintance, together with his lavish state and hospitality, cast a glamour over the government of Johore; but, possessing an intimate knowledge since 1875, of the real condition of things, I am persuaded that, whether for the happiness of the inhabitants or the development of the resources of the country,—no Malay State would more benefit by the presence of an able and conscientious British Resident than Johore.*

* As warm supporters of the autonomy of Native States, we cannot agree with the remarks of our esteemed contributor regarding Johore, a State which, we hope, will ever continue to enjoy its full measure of perfect independence.—ED.

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III. THE MEKONG TREATY AND THE MALAY PENINSULA.

SINCE writing my article, in the last issue of this Review, on the "Straits' Settlements," Great Britain has signed a treaty with France regarding the affairs of Siam; and this treaty, according to the generally received opinion of the public, gives us a free hand in the Malay Peninsula from Pahang and Province Wellesley to our Burmah possession of Tenasserim.

Under these circumstances, I will venture to make some remarks on the Perak troubles of 1875-6, as a warning to us in dealing with other Native States, and also to express my opinion as to our prospects in the Far East as affected by the recent treaty.

There never could be a more unjust libel or a more undeserved compliment, (according to individual opinion) than that contained in the accusation made by continental nations, that Great Britain and her Statesmen have persistently followed a Machiavellian policy to extend our rule over the face of the globe. There certainly have been, and we must hope that there always will be, Administrators of Provinces and Governors of Colonies, whose knowledge and patriotic foresight have determined what ought to be our policy for the good of our race and for the benefit of the people over whom Providence has ordained that we should rule; but certainly, it cannot be said, that for many years any Statesmen in charge of our Foreign and Colonial Offices have been aggressive, or have been actuated by any other desire than to keep things quiet and to diminish the responsibilities of Great Britain as much as possible. Indeed, it has been diffidence, susceptibility to the criticism of the Opposition and a fear to offend foreign Powers that have caused trouble and expense during the past 30 or 40 years,—all of which

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might have been avoided by a bold and straightforward policy.

Fifty years ago we could afford to dally with the questions of extending our influence in Africa and the Far East; but the Exhibition of 1851 and the German victories of 1866 and 1871 have changed all this.

Continental nations have not only learned from us and become able to compete with us successfully in manufactures and trade, but Germany, Russia and especially France have entered upon a career of colonial enterprise, and are now prepared to dispute with England for every square mile of unoccupied territory. We must be prepared to take what falls in our way or to allow other nations to appropriate it; but the difference is, that, while we colonize not only for our own advantage but also for the benefit of every other nation, every colony established by France, Germany or Russia, though primarily intended for the aggrandisement of each respective nation, is really used as a weapon against the prosperity of British trade, that is the existence of the inhabitants of these Isles. At the present time we cannot persist in our old policy without serious danger of involving this country with one or other of the Great Powers.

Now in the case of the Malay States, the Home Government, after many years of representation from the Straits, and especially from Sir Harry Ord, a most able and experienced colonial Governor, as to the critical and dangerous state of affairs, had arrived at the decision that an inquiry (but no further steps) must be made; and written instructions to this effect were given to Sir Andrew Clarke when he left England, in Sept. 1873.

To corroborate this statement, I will quote the opinion of Mr. C. J. Irving, who was Colonial Secretary of the Straits' Settlements during the Perak war; in his Report on the Secretary of State's Despatch of Sept. 20, 1873, he says (see Bluebook) that in his opinion the Secretary of State wished the Native States to be recognized as they

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were, and that their self-dependency should be "encouraged by a wholesome neglect." But on Sir Andrew Clarke's arrival at his seat of Government, he found that enquiry was useless as the facts were all patent; and that immediate action alone could save both the Native States and our Colony from anarchy and disaster. He therefore took, on his own responsibility, such steps as restored order and security for life and trade.

Now although Sir A. Clarke's action was formally sanctioned by the Secretary of State, yet the real state of things and the responsibilities incurred by the Pangkor treaty and the settlement of Salengor and Sungei Ujong were in but a small degree realized by the Home Government. Our Government was pleased that such promising results had been attained with such apparently little trouble; but at the same time its cordial consent was dependent on the assurance that there should be no pecuniary sacrifice or danger of troublesome complications. This can be proved by despatches in the Blue Book insisting on economy in the matter of the salaries of the proposed Residents, and that their appointments should be regarded as temporary and without hope of compensation in case of removal.

By the treaty of Pangkor, the Sultan and Chiefs of Perak were promised allowances from a Civil List to be provided out of the revenues of the State; but at that time the only revenue-producing district of Perak,—Larut,—had been swept clear of inhabitants, and the mines from which alone revenue could be produced were closed. The remainder of Perak was sparsely inhabited,—a waste of jungle, where the Chiefs and their retainers gratified their lusts and avarice at the expense of a few *rayats* (who cultivated a little *paddi* or fished in the streams), and replenished their exchequer by extortion, and by erecting barriers on all the rivers, at which they collected tolls from the adventurous Chinese who pushed their way into the interior at the risk of being murdered for the sake of their silk clothing. Sir Andrew Clarke's idea was that the

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legitimate Chiefs of the State should be, to some degree, compensated for the losses and deprivations they would temporarily undergo through the change of régime; and although there were doubtless other causes of dissatisfaction, owing to the intrigues of the Mantri and the promptings of at least one interested European lawyer at Penang, yet I am sure that a judicious expenditure of say £50,000 would have reconciled all the Chiefs to the Pangkor engagement and to the presence of a British Resident in Perak. But such an expenditure would not have been sanctioned by the Government at home; and the result was that, being obliged to wait month after month, to give up their old habits of plundering and extortion and at the same time to be unable to keep up their old barbaric state, Sultan Abdullah, the ex-Sultan Ismail, the Mantri, Laximana and other Chiefs composed their quarrels and feuds, and made an attempt to frighten the British out of their country. Sir W. Jervoise quite realized the fact that these Chiefs could never be satisfied with being told that when the country was developed, there would be sufficient revenue to repay them for all their losses.

I feel sure that if the Chiefs had been wise enough to confine their exertions to making it impossible for the British officials to remain in Perak, the Home Government would have acquiesced, without much regret, in reversing Sir Andrew Clarke's action; but by murdering Her Majesty's Representative they forced Great Britain to make such a demonstration and to depose so many of the Rulers of the State, that we were obliged to govern Perak by British officials. Thus the Pangkor treaty was not only confirmed, but it was supplemented by action which has resulted in the present happy state of affairs.

The moral I would draw is, that if, in consequence of the new treaty, it is determined to exercise our authority over the remainder of the Malay Peninsula, we must, in order to avoid complication and unnecessary expense, determine on a bold and well-defined policy, and be pre-

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pared to expend the necessary funds in order to deal with the Sultan and Chiefs of the various States concerned.

The potentialities, as regards benefits to be conferred on the native populations, and the advantages to our commerce from the mineral and agricultural resources of the country, are undoubtedly great; and for the safety of our Indian Empire and possessions in the Far East, especially the line of a future railway from Calcutta to Singapore,—we cannot allow any foreign Power to interfere on the Eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal and the Straits of Malacca. The sooner we make this known to the world the better. Whatever may be the ideas of our Government with regard to the meaning of the new treaty, there can be no doubt that the French clearly understand what advantages they have gained; they will at once appropriate them; and they will be ready to defend them by force if necessary. But I cannot see that France has guaranteed to act with us in case any other European Power should choose to take advantage of our meekness and try to establish itself,—on the Isthmus of Kra, for instance.

We must always bear in mind that if Germany, in spite of its many disintegrating elements, such as socialism, religious differences, capricious autocracy, etc., should continue to be a united Empire, it will, on the first opportunity, absorb Holland and with that country her colonies in the Eastern Archipelago.

Great Britain will then, in the East and Far East, be closely hemmed in,—by Russia on the north and west, by France on the east, and by Germany on the south, east, and south-west.

The immense Empire of China, too, is a "sick man" awaiting partition. One of our statesmen has said that in the Far East, there is enough for all the western Powers; but only the Powers who boldly take will be allowed to possess; and it is a certain fact that while every extension of our Empire means food and clothing for the workingmen of the British Isles, every appropriation of territory

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by any other nation means the shutting out of our manufactures from that market. If France and Germany were to lose their colonies, it would be rather advantageous than otherwise to the mother-countries; but for Great Britain, a loss of Colonial trade or a restriction of her markets implies danger to her very means of existence.

This needs to be most urgently impressed on our working classes; for at a time when we have nearly attained to that *panacea*, universal suffrage, we can scarcely blame Ministers of State if they hesitate to disregard or go beyond the mandate of their creators. In the republics of ancient Greece and Rome, "*demos*," and "*plebs*," could indulge in politics, and enjoy their "panem et circenses" at the expense of the labouring hordes of helots or gangs of slaves; but their modern representatives, in our own country at any rate, must either work hard and steadily, or starve, unless they choose the expedient of plundering the goods of the classes which supply them with capital, work and wages: this last method would speedily reduce us all to an equality of poverty and barbarism.

Any class which is not intelligent enough to understand that under God, not only the prosperity but the very existence of our teeming population, depends on the maintenance of an overwhelming command of the sea and the extension of markets in proportion to the increase of that population, is not worthy to exercise the franchise and should be kept in tutelage until it can comprehend that the revision of the register, local veto, disestablishment, the higher education, etc., are luxuries, not necessaries of life.

Though the new treaty as to Siam seems to have effected one good result, the abolition of that greatest and most objectionable of all diplomatic shams, a "buffer State," yet it is to be feared that we have only got rid of a smaller evil for the probability of a greater.

The kingdom of Siam can never stand long by itself, as the Government is hopelessly corrupt and effete; therefore, the administration of the country must, at no distant

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period, be undertaken by France or England, and until this event occurs, Bangkok will be the scene of intrigue and a continual cause of soreness between the two European Governments. Indeed there can be no permanent and cordial agreement between Russia, France, and Great Britain in Asia, until our sentry-boxes on the various frontiers stand back-to-back and our officers and men fraternise in their messes and canteens, while our Ministers at home negotiate face to face without the intervention of semi-barbarous Mahomedan or Buddhist kinglets.

If such an arrangement could be arrived at, there is a grand future for the hitherto down-trodden Asiatic races, and also great benefits in store for their European protectors. But England above all must take the initiative, by putting aside her fears, boldly declaring her policy, and abandoning the "buffer State" idea, which so often has set up "Monro doctrines," impossible and inadvisable to insist upon when the time came to enforce them.

With the present abnormally strong Government, there ought to be every hope for the future; but nowadays, when the minds of the people move as it were by railway and telegraph, it will never do for statesmen to persist altogether in the old dallying style of diplomacy, although we have to be thankful that their minds are not quite so easily determined as they are pressed to be by would-be Little England advisers.

If our Foreign Office be inspired by the spirit of the illustrious Burleigh, and the Colonial Office by that of the patriotic and undaunted Cromwell, while the nation at large acknowledge God and His righteousness, we need not fear that England will be allowed to lose or diminish her proud position as pioneer of liberty and promoter of prosperity for the whole world.

And supposing the other Great Powers through an unreasoning jealousy should not choose to allow us to go on our way in peace; then

> "Come the *three* corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them."

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